

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00

H-02 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 NSC-05 /092 W

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P R 151745Z JUL 76

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1689

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0383

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRENCH POSITION

REFS: (A) NATO 3897 DRG 121920Z JUL 76, (B) PARIS 20018

DTG 091210Z JUL 76, (C) NATO 3735 DTG 011835Z JUL 76,

(D) NATO 3579 DTG 231652Z JUL 76

1. WE NOTE THAT FRENCH OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO ASSERT OR IMPLY THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN FRENCH POSITION ON MBFR (E.G. FRENCH REP'S STATEMENT TO SPC MEETING OF JULY 12 (REF A), DE LA BOULAYE'S REMARK TO AMBASSADOR STOESSEL THAT SOVIETS HAD BEEN FULLY AWARE OF REAL FRENCH POSITION ON MBFR FOR MANY YEARS (REF B) AND OTHERS).

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2. THE RECORD CLEARLY SHOWS OTHERWISE. CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE ADDRESSEES MAY FIND FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF FRENCH POSITION USEFUL FOR BACKGROUND IN POSSIBLE CONVERSATIONS WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS, AS A SUPPLEMENT TO REFS C AND D. FULL TEXT OF CHRONOLOGY IS BEING SENT BY AIRGRAM.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

CHRONOLOGY OF FRENCH POSITION ON INCLUSION OF FRENCH FORCES IN DATA EXCHANGE AND WITHIN THE COMMON CEILING

1. THE FRENCH HAVE ACQUIESCED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED MBFR NEGOTIATING POSITION IN NATO OVER A PERIOD OF ALMOST THREE YEARS. THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS, THEY HAVE BEEN INFORMED AT REGULAR INTERVALS OF THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. FRANCE HAS A RECORD OF PERFECT ATTENDANCE AT NAC AND SPC MEETINGS ON MBFR.

2. FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES WERE IN RECEIPT OF ALLIED MILITARY-TECHNICAL STUDIES, INCLUDING THOSE WHICH PREPARED THE WAY FOR FORMULATION OF THE INITIAL WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION. AS MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THOSE REPRESENTATIVES HAVE REGULARLY RECEIVED THE WEEKLY REPORTS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AD HOC GROUP FROM VIENNA. IN ADDITION, THE FRENCH ARE PRESENT AT THE AD HOC GROUP MONTHLY BRIEFINGS AND THE END OF ROUND BRIEFINGS OF THE NAC.

3. IN ADDITION TO THE INFORMATION DERIVED FROM ITS MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY BRIEFED ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO FRANCE. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS HAD BILATERAL CONTACTS IN VIENNA WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH THE WESTERN AND THE EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. FRANCE HAS ALSO PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSIONS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH ITS MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC-NINE.

4. IN THE LONG PERIOD SINCE THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN, FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES HAVE NOT USED THESE NUMEROUS CONTACTS TO PROTEST THE INCLUSION OF FRENCH GROUND FORCE MANPOWER
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PRESENT IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN DATA NOR THE COVERAGE OF THAT MANPOWER UNDER THE COMMON CEILING. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY HAVE ON TWELVE OCCASIONS ACQUIESCED IN THOSE POSITIONS THROUGH THE SILENCE PROCEDURE AT NATO.

5. THE ALLIES HAVE RELIED UPON THE POSITION HITHERTO TAKEN BY FRANCE BOTH IN FORMULATING WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITIONS AND IN THE CONDUCT OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST. FRENCH

REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN FULLY INFORMED OF THAT RELIANCE.

6. THE FRENCH WERE PRESENT AT THE NAC MEETING OF OCTOBER 16, 1973 WHICH APPROVED CM 73 (83), THE ALLIED APPROACH TO MBFR. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THEY RAISED NO OBJECTION AT THE SESSION OF OCTOBER 30, 1973 WHEN THE SPC, IN ACCORDANCE WITH A PROCEDURE AGREED BY THE SPC THE PREVIOUS DAY, AUTHORIZED USE WITH THE EAST IN VIENNA OF DATA WHICH INCLUDED FRENCH FORCES, FRENCH REPS WERE PRESENT AT BOTH MEETINGS OF THE SPC.

7. THE WEST IN ITS NOVEMBER 20, 1973 PLENARY STATEMENT, GAVE THE EAST QUOTE THE TOTAL FIGURE FOR THE MANPOWER OF ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN THE AREA. END QUOTE. THESE FIGURES INCLUDED THE FRENCH FORCES.

8. IN THE INFORMAL NEGOTIATING SESSION ON APRIL 1, 1974, IN RESPONSE TO AN EASTERN QUESTION, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES INFORMED THE EAST INTER ALIA THAT FRENCH FORCES WERE INCLUDED IN THE DATA AND THAT THESE FORCES WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE OPERATION OF THE COMMON CEILING. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MADE CLEAR THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT INCUR ANY OBLIGATIONS UNDER AN AGREEMENT. THEY TOLD THE EAST THAT THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE COLLECTIVELY RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING THE COMMON CEILING AT AN AGREED LEVEL, IF NECESSARY BY DROPPING THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES TO MAKE UP FOR FRENCH INCREASES.

9. THESE STATEMENTS WERE REPORTED TO FRENCH EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA BOTH BY SOVIET REP KHLESTOV AND BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES. MOREOVER, AMBASSADOR JORDAN TOLD KHLESTOV THAT THE LEVEL OF FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG WAS THE SUBJECT OF STATIONING OF FORCES AGREEMENTS WITH THE FRG. THE SECRET

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FRENCH SUBSEQUENTLY RAISED NO OBJECTION.

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1690

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0383

FROM US REP MBFR

10. SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE SPC WAS ENDING FOUR MONTHS OF DISCUSSIONS ON LEGAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMON CEILING. THESE DISCUSSIONS WERE, TO A LARGE EXTENT, A DEBATE ON HOW TO EXPRESS THE WELL UNDERSTOOD ALLIED POSITION THAT FRENCH FORCES WERE COVERED BY THE COMMON CEILING. THE PROBLEM OF FRENCH FORCES WAS REFERRED TO EXPLICITLY IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION -- INTER ALIA IN A PAPER SUBMITTED BY THE UK. THE FRENCH REP TOOK NOTES AND WAS PRESENT THROUGHOUT THESE DISCUSSIONS, BUT DID NOT COMMENT. AS A RESULT OF THIS DEBATE THE NAC APPROVED GUIDANCE ON APRIL 16, 1974, ON LEGAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. THIS STATED THAT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD JOINTLY UNDERTAKE TO ENSURE THAT QUOTE THE AGGREGATE TOTAL OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE NGA DID NOT EXCEED THE AGREED COMMON CEILING AFTER THE COMPLETION

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OF REDUCTIONS. END QUOTE

11. DURING THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1974 - DECEMBER 1975, THE NAC ON SEVERAL DIFFERENT OCCASIONS APPROVED GUIDANCE RELATING TO FORCE DEFINITIONS OR DATA WHICH REFERRED EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY TO THE UNDERLYING NATO ASSUMPTION THAT TABLED DATA WOULD INCLUDE ALL FORCES IN THE AREA. THIS INCLUDED GUIDANCE

ON EXCHANGING AIR PERSONNEL DATA WITH THE EAST, AND ON TABLING REVISED ALLIED DATA.

12. THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD, THE FRENCH HAVE NOT REACTED TO NUMEROUS AD HOC GROUP REPORTS TO THE NAC REFERRING IMPLICITLY TO THE INCLUSION OF FRENCH FORCES IN WESTERN DATA OR IN THE COMMON CEILING.

13. IT WAS NOT UNTIL NOVEMBER 1975 THAT THE FRENCH TOOK ISSUE EVEN INDIRECTLY WITH THE INCLUSION OF FRENCH FORCES IN WESTERN MBFR DATA AND THEIR COVERAGE UNDER THE COMMON CEILING. AT THAT TIME, IN THE CONTEXT OF A DISCUSSION CONCERNING MBFR WORKING GROUP DOCUMENTS ON DATA, THE FRENCH REP MADE A STATEMENT RESERVING THE FRENCH POSITION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE FACT THAT FRENCH FORCES HAD, WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, BEEN INCLUDED IN NATO DATA USED IN MBFR AS WELL AS IN THE CALCULATIONS ON WHICH THE COMMON CEILING WAS BASED, BUT DENIED THAT THIS KNOWLEDGE SIGNIFIED APPROVAL OR EVEN ACQUIESCENCE AND RESERVED THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE ISSUE AGAIN, PARTICULARLY IF AN EXCHANGE OF DATA WITH THE EAST SEEMED LIKELY.

14. DESPITE THIS, THE FRENCH DID NOT VETO NAC APPROVAL OF THE GUIDANCE AUTHORIZING THE INTRODUCTION OF OPTION III, CM 75(74), WHICH REAFFIRMED THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING COVERING THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH SIDE AND EXTENDED IT TO INCLUDE AIR MANPOWER. END TEXT. RESOR

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